

Message Text

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PM-04 DODE-00 SP-02 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 PRS-01 SSO-00
NSCE-00 INRE-00 IO-13 EURE-00 EB-07 /077 W
-----081937Z 119540 /50L

O R 081901Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8914
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 09743

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV WB GE UR GW US UK FR
SUBJECT: GDR THREATS AGAINST PLANNED CDU MEETING IN
BERLIN

REFS: (A) STATE 130953; (B) BONN 9481; (C) USBER 1518

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE BONN GROUP HAS REACHED AD REF
AGREEMENT ON A CONTINGENCY ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS
FOR USE IN THE EVENT OF GDR INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT
ON JUNE 16. THE FRG INTENDS TO REITERATE TO THE GDR AT
A HIGH LEVEL THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH IT WOULD VIEW
SUCH INTERFERENCE AND FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE ALLIES
SHOULD ALSO MAKE A PARALLEL PREEMPTIVE DEMARCHE TO THE
SOVIETS. FRENCH AND US REPS REPORTED INSTRUCTIONS
OPPOSING SUCH A DEMARCHE BUT AGREED TO REPORT THE
GERMAN POSITION TO CAPITALS. THE BONN GROUP ALSO AGREED
TO RECOMMEND THAT THE ALLIES BE PREPARED TO
DRAW FROM THE AD REF CONTINGENCY TEXT IN STATING THE
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ALLIED POSITION IN THE EVENT THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULD
MAKE A DEMARCHE OF THEIR OWN BEFORE JUNE 16. ACTION
REQUESTED: GENERAL APPROVAL OF THE AD REF TEXT IN
PARA 11 BELOW AND GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING TO THE FRG
REQUEST FOR A PREEMPTIVE ALLIED APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS.
END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE JUNE 8 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRG, FRENCH, AND US REPS REPORTED INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS CONCERNING CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR POSSIBLE DIFFICULTIES ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES ON JUNE 16. BECAUSE OF BRITISH HOLIDAYS, THE UK REP HAD NOT RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS.

2. FRG REP (HENZE) REPORTED THAT WEICHERT OF THE INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS MINISTRY HAD ON JUNE 7 REITERATED TO BAUMGAERTEL OF THE GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATION THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE FRG WOULD VIEW ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT THE TRAVEL TO BERLIN BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE CDU/JUNGE UNION RALLY ON JUNE 16. IN ADDITION, IT HAD BEEN DECIDED AT A MEETING AMONG THE MINISTRIES CONCERNED AND THE CHANCELLERY THAT GDR PERMREP KOHL WOULD BE SUMMONED TO THE CHANCELLERY ON FRIDAY, JUNE 10 BY EITHER WISCHNEWSKI OR RUHFUS FOR A HIGHER LEVEL WARNING. HENZE DISTRIBUTED COPIES OF THE AGREED SPEAKING NOTES WHICH WOULD BE USED AT THAT MEETING; AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

IN THE DISCUSSION ON MAY 12, 1977, STATE MINISTER WISCHNEWSKI CONVEYED TO YOU WITH GREAT EMPHASIS THE POSITION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON THE USE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES FOR THE PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATION AT THE DEMONSTRATION (KUNDGEBUNG) PLANNED FOR JUNE 17, 1977 IN BERLIN (WEST). THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, COUNSELOR DR. BAUMGAERTEL ON MAY 27 ONCE AGAIN DELIVERED A CONFIDENTIAL

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STATEMENT IN WHICH MENTION WAS AGAIN MADE OF MEASURES BY THE GDR "TO STOP A MISUSE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES."

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS EXTRAORDINARILY CONCERNED ABOUT THIS RECENT STEP ON THE PART OF THE GDR. YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE ELEMENTS OF MISUSE IN ARTICLE 16 OF THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT ARE UNEQUIVOCALLY AND EXCLUSIVELY ENUMERATED. THE USE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES FOR THE PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATION IN A POLITICAL EVENT IN BERLIN (WEST) -- EVEN IF IT IS DISTASTEFUL TO THE GDR -- IS WITHOUT DOUBT NOT A MISUSE WITHIN THE MEANING OF THIS PROVISION.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD THEREFORE VIEW GDR MEASURES AGAINST TRANSIT TRAVELLERS WHO WISH TO TAKE PART IN THE DEMONSTRATION IN BERLIN (WEST) AS A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT. WITH THIS VIEW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FINDS ITSELF IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE THREE POWERS.

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THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKES SERIOUSLY ITS
OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT. IT EXPECTS
THIS ALSO OF THE GDR.

END TEXT

(COMMENT: AFTER MEETING, THE FRENCH REP ASKED THAT THE
REFERENCE TO THE THREE POWERS BE DELETED. END COMMENT)

3. HENZE CONTINUED THAT THE FRG FELT "VERY STRONGLY"
THAT ITS WARNING TO THE GDR SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED BY
A SIMILAR ALLIED WARNING TO THE SOVIETS.

4. HENZE ALSO STATED THAT THE FRG ALSO CONSIDERED
THAT THE PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS WITH THE GDR ON BILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE --
EITHER JUNE 10 OR JUNE 13 -- BUT THAT A FINAL DECISION
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ON THIS AWAITED THE CHANCELLOR'S APPROVAL. THE GENERAL FEELING OF THE OFFICIALS WHO HAD DECIDED ON THE WARNING TO THE GDR CONCERNING TRANSIT INTERFERENCE WAS THAT THE SOUNDINGS ON THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT AWAIT EVENTS OF JUNE 16.

5. AS FOR THE QUESTION BONN GROUP REPS HAD POSED TO CAPITALS ABOUT WILLINGNESS TO TAKE COUNTERMEASURES IF THERE WERE IN FACT VIOLATIONS OF THE QA AND THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC AGREEMENT ON JUNE 16, HENZE STATED THAT THE FRG SITUATION WAS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE ALLIES. HE NOTED THAT THE GDR HAD SHOWN GREAT INTEREST IN IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH EACH OF THE ALLIES AND THAT IN THIS REGARD THE GDR WAS IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR. IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, HOWEVER, IT WAS THE FRG WHICH WAS DEMANDEUR AND THE FRG HAD TO LOOK AT COUNTERMEASURES IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. MOST THAT COULD BE TAKEN WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF WORSENING RELATIONS IN THOSE AREAS OF GREATEST INTEREST TO THE FRG.

6. THE US REP REPORTED THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION AS SET OUT IN REF (A). THE FRENCH REP (GAUSSOT) STATED THAT PARIS ALSO AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PROTEST PROMPTLY AND THAT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD PREPARE A DRAFT FRAMEWORK PROTEST NOTE. THE FRENCH DID NOT, HOWEVER, FAVOR AN ADVANCE ALLIED WARNING TO THE SOVIETS, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE CREDIBILITY PROBLEM AS MENTIONED IN US INSTRUCTIONS AND ALSO BECAUSE WE ARE UNABLE TO CONTROL THE BEHAVIOR OF THE CDU/JUNGE UNION MEMBERS AND DO NOT KNOW HOW THEY WILL CONDUCT THEMSELVES ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES; IT MIGHT THEREFORE BE DANGEROUS TO WARN THE SOVIETS.

7. GAUSSOT CONTINUED THAT PARIS DID NOT CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE ALLIES TO ENVISAGE COUNTERMEASURES UNLESS THE FRG WERE PREPARED TO ACT SIMILARLY WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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USSR AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE GDR. IN OTHER WORDS, THE FRENCH WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER COUNTERACTIONS ONLY IF THEY WERE ASSURED THAT THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO TAKE ACTIONS.

8. SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THE US REP MADE BRIEF COMMENTS ON BOTH THE FRG AND THE FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING COUNTERMEASURES. HE SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULTIES THE GERMANS FACED IN

THINKING OF COUNTERACTIONS IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS BUT WONDERED WHETHER THERE WERE NOT SOME STEPS THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED -- E.G., REFUSING CLEARANCE FOR GDR CHARTER FLIGHTS OVER THE FRG -- WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE THE CONSEQUENCES FEARED BY THE FRG. AS FOR THE FRENCH POSITION HE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE SOME CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER ACTIONS OF THEIR OWN REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE FRG WOULD OR WOULD NOT DO, GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET COMMITMENT ON UNIMPEDED ACCESS WAS ONE GIVEN TO THE THREE ALLIES IN RETURN FOR A GOOD PRICE.

9. IN SUPPORT OF THE FRG VIEW THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE PREEMPTIVE DEMARCHES TO THE SOVIETS, MEICHSNER OF THE BERLIN REPRESENTATION POINTED OUT THAT THE GDR HAD RAISED WITH THE SENAT A MATTER ON WHICH THE GDR WAS NOT COMPETENT TO SPEAK -- THE HOLDING OF THE RALLY IN WEST BERLIN -- AND THAT THE SENAT HAD PROPERLY REPORTED THIS TO THE ALLIES. HE THOUGHT IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE ALLIES TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIETS

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ON THE SUBJECT.

10. BOTH US AND FRENCH REPS AGREED TO REPORT THE FRG VIEWS TO CAPITALS BUT LEFT LITTLE HOPE THAT THE POSITIONS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED WOULD BE CHANGED.

11. ALTHOUGH THE UK REP (EYERS) HAD NOT YET RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS, HE AGREED TO JOIN IN PREPARATION OF A CONTINGENCY ALLIED PROTEST. AD REF AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE FOLLOWING DRAFT, SUBJECT TO BRITISH RESERVATIONS CONCERNING THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH (ENTERED BECAUSE OF LONDON'S REFUSAL LAST AUGUST TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT ASSESSING GDR MOTIVES IN INTERFERING WITH TRANSIT AT THE TIME OF THE STERNFAHRT INCIDENT):

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES (FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM) HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT ON JUNE 16 OFFICIALS OF THE GDR REFUSED OR DELAYED PASSAGE TO BERLIN ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES TO NUMEROUS CIVILIAN TRAVELLERS. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE SENAT AND OF THE FRG PRIOR TO THAT DATE, OFFICIALS OF THE GDR HAD THREATENED TO TAKE ACTION OF AN UNSPECIFIED NATURE IF A POLITICAL GATHERING WERE HELD IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN ON THAT DATE. THE CONCLUSION IS INESCAPABLE THAT THE INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT TRAFFIC WHICH TOOK PLACE ON JUNE 16 WAS MOTIVATED BY DISPLEASURE AT EVENTS OCCURRING IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM YOU THAT MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THESE ACTIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES OF THE GDR ILLEGAL AND UNACCEPTABLE. THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH MY GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE INCIDENTS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES ON JUNE 16 IS HEIGHTENED BY THE FACT THAT THIS IS THE SECOND OCCASION IN LESS THAN A YEAR ON WHICH AUTHORITIES OF THE GDR HAVE SERIOUSLY IMPEDED NORMAL TRANSIT TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS CONCERNING EVENTS TAKING PLACE INSIDE THE WESTERN SECTORS.

IN THE QA OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR DECLARED THAT THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC OF CIVILIAN PERSONS AND GOODS BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WILL BE

UNIMPEDED. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION IN THE QA FOR
IMPEDING TRANSIT ON THE BASIS OF EVENTS OCCURRING IN
THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN OR OF TRAVELLERS'
REASONS FOR GOING THERE, NOR HAS THE GDR ANY COMPETENCE
TO DETERMINE THE PROPRIETY OF ACTIVITIES OR EVENTS IN
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THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

THE OBSTRUCTION OF TRANSIT TRAFFIC WHICH OCCURRED
ON JUNE 16 CONSTITUTED A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE
QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS
DO NOT OCCUR. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES
(FRANCE, UNITED KINGDOM) EXPECTS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
TO SEE TO IT THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS DO NOT OCCUR IN THE
FUTURE. END TEXT

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12. THE BONN GROUP ALSO AGREED TO RECOMMEND THAT, ASSUMING THERE IS A SERIOUS INTERFERENCE WITH TRANSIT, THE PROTEST SHOULD BE DELIVERED AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL IN THE THREE ALLIED CAPITALS. THIS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE SERIOUSNESS OF ALLIED CONCERN BY RAISING THE LEVEL OF THE PROTEST ABOVE THAT OF THE AUGUST 1976 STERNFAHRT PROTEST, WHICH WAS DELIVERED BY THE CHAIRMAN POLAD IN BERLIN.

13. THE BONN GROUP FURTHER AGREED TO RECOMMEND THAT, IF THE SOVIETS SHOULD THEMSELVES APPROACH THE ALLIES ABOUT THE CDU RALLY BEFOREHAND, AS THEY DID ON AUGUST 12, 1976, THE DAY BEFORE THE STERNFAHRT, THE ALLIED OFFICIAL(S) RECEIVING THE PROTEST SHOULD DRAW FROM THE AD REF TEXT ABOVE AS APPROPRIATE IN REJECTING IT.

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14. AT A MEETING EARLY NEXT WEEK THE BONN GROUP WILL ALSO WORK ON A CONTINGENCY ALLIED PRESS STATEMENT, WHICH MAY BE CALLED FOR ALMOST IMMEDIATELY IF THERE IS A SERIOUS INCIDENT.

15. ACTION REQUESTED: (A) APPROVAL OF THE AD REF TEXT IN PARA 11 ABOVE AS A GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR A PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE WORDING WOULD HAVE TO BE REVIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT ACTUALLY TRANSPIRED ON JUNE 16; (B) AGREEMENT THAT ALLIED OFFICIALS IN BERLIN OR ELSEWHERE SHOULD DRAW FROM THIS TEXT AS APPROPRIATE IN RESPONDING ON THE SPOT TO ANY SOVIET DEMARCHE BEFORE JUNE 16; AND (C) GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING TO BE FRG REQUEST THAT THE ALLIES MAKE A PREEMPTIVE DEMARCHE TO THE SOVIETS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, THREATS, POLITICAL PARTIES, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 08-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN09743
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770204-0849
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770680/aaaacrxq.tel
Line Count: 436
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 41103a83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 130953, 77 BONN 9481, 77 USBERLIN 1518
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2238823
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GDR THREATS AGAINST PLANNED CDU MEETING IN BERLIN
TAGS: PGOV, WB, GC, UR, GE, US, UK, FR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/41103a83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009